Preface

A challenge of doing linguistic theory is that—despite the collective wisdom of the generative linguists that human language emerges from a universal system—the sheer number of Western linguists working in the field, and the predominance of linguistic data from languages spoken by those linguists, can distort our conception of what the universal system looks like. A good example of this is the start of the Minimalist Program (MP). Having abandoned the universal principles of the Government and Binding (GB) era as a mere rewording of the problems they were supposed to solve (Chomsky 1995), the MP makes an effort to incorporate only elements that have independent and intuitive motivation. This does not mean that the MP drastically changed the direction of the theory. Much of the history of generative grammar from its inception in the 1950s has been concerned with issues directly or indirectly related to movement, so the earliest researchers working in the MP framework naturally directed their attention to linguistic elements that could be the driving force for movement. What could these driving forces be? Around that time, in the late 1980s, an important innovation had been introduced into linguistic theory that separated MP from GB. This was the so-called predicate-internal subject hypothesis, which postulated that the external argument originates in the verbal projection instead of being merged directly into Spec,TP (e.g., Kuroda 1988, Sportiche 1988). The question naturally arose as to what triggers the movement of the external argument from its original position to Spec, TP, and it became an early focus of intense research. This is when the EPP, introduced earlier with little fanfare (Chomsky 1981), came to play a central role. An observation about the EPP is that it appears to coincide with morphological agreement. As a result, grammatical agreement came to play a central role as the driver of narrow-syntax operations including movement (e.g., Chomsky 1993, 1995), and understandably, agreement-driven operations came to dominate a great deal of the discussion in linguistic theory.

For those of us who have worked for much of our career on languages that don't have grammatical agreement, the question naturally arose: what can we do to contribute to this new and exciting development in linguistic theory? One important research direction that emerged was to take agreementless languages at face value: they have no agreement, so no movement is forced (e.g., Kuroda 1988). However, I took a different tack. My intuition was that movement has a function—ideally the same function—across all languages. If, in agreement languages, it is morphological agreement that is triggering operations such as movement, there ought to be something computationally equivalent in the agreementless languages that triggers movement. If we could identify it, it would allow us to treat the agreement and agreementless languages as parts of a unified whole. In *Why Agree? Why Move?* (Miyagawa 2010), I proposed a theory, Strong Uniformity (SU), that postulates that ϕ-features and discourse-configurational features of topic and focus—what I will call δ-features in this monograph—occur as a uniform set across all languages, and they work in tandem to give rise to many of the kinds of operations we see in narrow syntax. This was my way of trying to unify the agreement and agreementless languages. Just as the universal principles in GB laid the ground for parametric variations, the uniform set of grammatical features leads to variation in highly restricted ways. The various ϕ-features and δ-features originate at C (e.g., Chomsky 2005, 2007; Richards 2007; Miyagawa 2010), and some may be inherited by T. Once a feature settles in its final position, it interacts with items accessible in its local domain, and these interactions combine to endow the system with rich forms of expression that we call human language.

The present monograph came out of an effort to substantially extend the study of SU both conceptually and empirically. A number of fortunate things happened to make this possible. In the spring terms of 2013, 2014, and 2015, I was invited to teach an undergraduate linguistics course at the International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo, where I started as an undergraduate linguistics student in the 1970s. I wanted to teach about SU, but in order to convey the basic ideas to students who did not have a substantial background in linguistics, it was necessary to shed much of the technical jargon and distill the ideas to their essence. To be convincing, I had to come up with a much larger set of data to justify and extend the ideas than what I had in the earlier monograph. Through this exercise, I discovered many phenomena from a variety of languages that I previously did not know about, and those phenomena helped to give further credence to various aspects of SU, sometimes even extending the notion beyond the original concept.

Sometimes one gets lucky. One problem left over from the earlier monograph was that SU made a number of predictions I could not convincingly substantiate. In the fall of 2011, Karlos Arregi, who was visiting the MIT linguistics department, happened to walk into my office to talk about his days as a graduate student at MIT, and, in passing, told me that there is a phenomenon in Basque that is similar to politeness marking in Japanese. It just so happened that I was struggling with a prediction that SU made about Japanese—that there ought to be ϕ-feature agreement at C in Japanese. The problem, of course, is that Japanese is a quintessential agreementless language! I was playing with the idea that the politeness marker *-des-/-mas-* may be this ϕ-feature agreement because it appears to enter into an agreement of sorts with the hearer. Also, I argued earlier (Miyagawa 1987) that the politeness marker is borne by C, which is where SU predicts that the ϕ-feature should occur in Japanese. But I had no real evidence that *-des-/-mas-* was a form of ϕ-feature agreement. When I looked at the Basque data that Karlos told me about, it was one of those moments of sheer joy. The Basque data is, indeed, politeness marking, just like in Japanese, but what makes it so remarkable is that the politeness is marked with the regular 2nd person agreement morpheme despite the fact that there is no 2nd person entity in the sentence. And it is borne by C (Oyharçabal 1993). It is a form of so-called allocutive agreement, which is a kind of agreement that agrees with a discourse participant. I developed the analysis of allocutive agreement within SU in an article in which I combined the Basque and Japanese data (Miyagawa 2012a). In the present monograph, I extend that work by combining it with the results of a study on Japanese and Spanish that I worked on with Ángel Jiménez-Fernández (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014) and with recent work by Vera Zu (2015, forthcoming) that extends the work on Basque by Oyharçabal (1993).

In 2013, Louis Liu, then a graduate student at Harvard, told me something about the Chinese subject *pro* that was astonishing. Unlike its counterparts in Japanese and Romance, the Chinese subject *pro* cannot refer easily to discourse referents without a very rich context. Within the sentence, it can only refer to another subject. The only part that didn't surprise me was that this subject must be local, something Jim Huang (1984) taught us a long time ago. None of these properties are found in Japanese and Romance. In Japanese and Romance, the *pro* easily finds a discourse referent without much of a context, and the *pro* can refer to non-subjects as well as subjects. Finally, it isn't restricted to the closest subject for its antecedent. In working closely with Chinese-speaking linguists in Taiwan and the Mainland, and in my MIT course, it because apparent that the Chinese subject *pro* behaves differently when it refers to a subject within its own sentence and when it refers to a discourse entity. A close

examination showed something surprising about SU at work: when the subject *pro* refers to a subject within the sentence, the antecedent relation is made possible by a ϕ-feature, while when the *pro* refers to an entity in discourse, it depends on the δ-feature of topic. They are in complementary distribution. In this way the Chinese subject *pro* turns out to be a wonderful demonstration of the SU tenet that ϕ-features and δ-features are computationally equivalent for operations within narrow syntax. The Chinese *pro* can go with one (ϕ-feature), but if it isn't available, it moves on to the other option (δ-feature). The differences between the Chinese subject *pro* and its Japanese counterpart found strong empirical support from a large-scale survey Lulu Zhang kindly conducted for me.

Armed with the newly developed ideas of SU, I also went back to topics I worked on earlier, the *wh*-word 'why' and *ga/no* conversion. For the *wh*-word 'why', having studied Ochi's (2014) article, I noticed an interesting gap in the paradigm: 'why' can externally merge directly into its scope position in many languages, but not in Japanese (and presumably Korean). Japanese just happens to be the type of language in which the δ-feature of focus does not occur at C but rather at T. I show that external merge of 'why' at its scope position is only possible if there is focus at C. Note that this variation differs from the language typology of *wh*-in-situ. Chinese, a stereotypical *wh*-in-situ language, nevertheless allows an externally merged 'why', *zenme* 'how come', at scope position, because Chinese, like English and Spanish, has the δ-feature of focus at C.

One question that comes up often about SU is, does the δ-feature require activation like the ϕ-feature? If they are computationally equivalent, it would be reasonable to assume so. In looking at the well-known phenomenon of *ga/no* conversion, and combining it with the recent work I did with Nobuaki Nishioka and Hedde Zeijlstra (Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra 2016), I argue that ϕ- and δ-features indeed require the same activation, and that activation is by Case. This is a desirable outcome for SU, which considers these two types of grammatical features to be computationally equivalent.

A large number of people helped with the writing of this monograph over the past several years. I thank the students in my undergraduate linguistics classes at the ICU for helping me to clarify SU and to find additional empirical evidence for it. The students in the 2015 ICU class developed a dataset for a large-scale survey about pro-drop in Japanese which was administered in undergraduate classes taught by Masa Koizumi, Masao Ochi, and Yukiko Ueda. Lulu Zhang, then at Oxford, carried out a Chinese version of the survey that she did online, and the remarkable results helped to reinforce an important point about the subject *pro* in Chinese as compared to its Japanese counterpart. The "Chinese language team" of Barry Yang, Christine Mail, and Kazunori

Kikushima was always at the ready with answers to my questions, and they helped to develop the key ideas on pro-drop in Chinese within SU. I also thank Yuyin He for carefully checking the Chinese data. The "Kyushu team" of Masako Maeda, Tomonori Otsuka, and Rumi Takagi provided valuable data and responded with patience to innumerable questions about judgments. Special thanks to Jim Huang, who provided detailed comments on parts of chapter 3, including some points that I could not sufficiently address. Earlier versions of various parts of this monograph were presented at Chukyo University, the 39th GLOW at Göttingen, the ICU, Kanda University of International Studies, Keio University, the Linguistic Society of America (Boston), NYU, Tohoku University, the University of Brasília, the University of Cambridge, the University of Ghent, the University of Kyushu, the University of Osaka, the University of São Paulo, the University of Seville, and many other places. I also taught two classes at MIT, including a seminar in the fall of 2015 with Norvin Richards, in which I was able to present the content of much of the present monograph. I thank the students in my classes and those in the audience at my talks for the suggestions and criticism that helped to improve and shape the work contained in this monograph. Others who have helped include Sylvain Bromberger, Lisa Cheng, Ángel Jiménez-Fernández, Liliane Haegeman, Nobuko Hasegawa, Mary Kato, Richie Kayne, Jaklin Kornfilt, Louis Liu, Snejana Lovtcheva, Alec Marantz, Nobuaki Nishioka, Vitor Nóbrega, Masashi Nomura, Jairo Nunes, Masao Ochi, Despina Oikonomou, Yohei Oseki, Carlos Muñoz Pérez, Bruna Pereira, Eloisa Pilati, Vassilis Spyropoulos, Mikami Suguru, Amanda Swenson, Katsuo Tamaoka, Edwin Tsai, Helena Guerra Vicente, Song Wei, Tomo Yoshida, Hedde Zeijlstra, and Vera Zu. Finally, I thank my colleagues in my department for their suggestions and support. These include Noam Chomsky, Danny Fox, Irene Heim, Sabine Iatridou, Jay Keyser, David Pesetsky, Norvin Richards, Donca Steriade, and Kai von Fintel. It was Jay Keyser who, having seen an earlier version of chapters 2 and 3 as an article, suggested that I write a monograph. It was not too long after I had completed my 2010 monograph, so writing another monograph was the farthest thing from my mind. Had Jay not suggested it, I probably would have broken up what has gone into this monograph into several not necessarily coherent pieces. I also thank Sarah Courtney, who copyedited the manuscript, for the detailed comments that substantially improved the monograph. Thanks go as well to David Hill for creating the index. Finally, I thank the two anonymous reviewers who provided numerous useful suggestions, including the suggestion to change the title from the earlier *Agreements Everywhere*. I thank the "Leiden team" of Lisa Cheng, Roberta D'Alessandro, and Johan Rooryck for helping me to come up with the final title.

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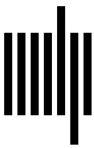

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